PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 [249] Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal´a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

[757] Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 616 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwːca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ːš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 616 Shinny (ko´nwːč) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

● 276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yaudmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the [756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of [752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

[P. 396] Chunut

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about
[752] two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
789 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č·k, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič·k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič·k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wes.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

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[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Mutsunni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him un-
791 duly and he became very angry. The following day he called on all his powers (ai ´n·č) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hail-storm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´č·n revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Puš·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai´´·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114]Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115]Powers, 372.

[116]Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

[P-489] Palpuyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (t'ɨ́pnɨm, supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell [262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 49a] Koyeti

1756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi''isak, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta'nai) taken at Port Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

[P. 49b] Koyeti

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 668 The Ghost Dance (soto'twi ha't:m) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek. D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila'la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.---It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.---The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.---Like Powers, Fages attrib-
622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y● 276● Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɛ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y ●276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[138]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[138] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

T Y 796 276 [P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22

saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 P.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. P.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´tolhˑn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ˑt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y [551]

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
261 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
[262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: ʔo·ʔkoi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi·ʔyod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi·ʔdi·t; duwe·ʔsi·p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo·ʔkno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

● [274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 92b] Western Mono NS25

Y 534 M [534] Y 198 Y 534 534 237 ● 276 249

Musical Instruments

All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš:´k'n:ta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´ow:d) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ňač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons,
249 men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u ´tuna ta ´ñhi mita ´m ṭu´dan n:p ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ṭada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogen). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they
[435] might be taken about and sold; they were said to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

[223] A full account of Tubatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

[757] The cake tobacco (šogən) was eaten in minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [169] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

[517] A group of men would gather at one house about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w:š) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

[226] The shell used for the lime constituent was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was [481] called ši´'u, the whole thing "when alive," ka´'up:č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.---A cigarette of cane (ka´dk:d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.949]

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called ǰuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[325] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 323 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[326] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.---"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

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[325] Handbook, 538.

[326] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

[P. 1180] Wukchumni

5335 5. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
262 (taña´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
276 in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an
276 insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it
[262] was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum. Thereafter the participants drank only
[603] thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 276 [787] or animal, it would become their helper in time of need. Then each boy and girl was given a drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

796 276 533

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 276 755 As the drinkers became active they were able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 276 787 As an example of typical behavior M.L. said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

[754] If occult disclosures concerning the evil behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

[P. 1196] Wukchumni

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276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
864 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anñi's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[369] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conferred among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, [illegible] his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, [574] although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 [237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[369] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

[P. 1476] Choinimni

Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kič; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kil (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki ˊwːš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwːš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe šːn, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike ˊtːl) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu ˊpun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šːˊktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono ˀt:m) had
767 dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his
773 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of
302 hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier
[778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun-
[683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (ana ˀtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was
276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛnˀtːm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 150 9] Choinimni

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" (i.e., no intrusive object), and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwis (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 150 b] Choinimni

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´´an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.---A dance (he´šːš na´mːt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešːš namːt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wːt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sː´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
● 276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But [787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭa ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ́te luni ́ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ́ša) lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mːs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pːs [262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hːt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čː´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yːn) at bedrock 412 mortars (tinːl), using a large pestle (če´; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nːm (ti´pːn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

● 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kːlao, pipe of cane [sikːl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wːš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.---The rabbitskin 281 blanket (xeu´či; cexː´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wːč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 158 9] DUMNA

756
789 ko ´no·no·

si li ka ´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se·´el) and water (i ´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya ˇy·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior
821 by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya ´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša ´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a ´lu, summer, May to October; tomo ´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta ´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 6] Dumna

796 276 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[753 189] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon·k and Pusi·li·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a (heavily aspirated) "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception
of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see
below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the
[747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large
dwelling. But this was only if it was purely
for entertainment. No ritual was ever held
indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
184 people long ago." She had never seen but one
pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick)
near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry
[439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who
may have been the source of Old Dick's piece.
No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less
made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of
tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched;
it grew best on burned ground. When beginning
[887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by
old people. The leaves were washed, tied in
bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and
pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with
berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded
with the tobacco. The resulting powder was
moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried.
In this condition it was called šo'gən. The
[184] fine tobacco, pulči'na, was not made by the
Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but
thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[787] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture
was customary among people wanting to induce
supernatural dreams, or those who sought good
health "by keeping their stomach clean." The
tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters
(ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded
together in a small mortar, moistened, and
licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin
River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or
possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed
coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A
swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left
hand, while he used his right arm, elbow hori-
zontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc,
to propel himself. The feet were kicked be-
hind, but there was no splashing. In the same
way a man might hold a baby or small child on
[758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would
push a log ahead of them on which a sick or
infirm person would ride astride. A two-log
raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M.
[186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good
swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor
swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at
this small reservation all people sat on chairs.
[209] E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips,
with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 796 751 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way [south]." But in spring everyone wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 276 The ritual (tañi ʼša) of drinking jimsonweed (ta ñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʼyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes [292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ·pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'·č) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʌn) diet for twelve days.

Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·ʼi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·ʼi for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta ́ow:ˇ ano ˇša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu ́sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku ́ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
321 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the
[804] flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

[328] Unnamed: black inside, brownish red outside. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money
[804] which was measured from the center of the wrist around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

●276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487 of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439] statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[EP: 191 b] Chuckchansi

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 887 [574] Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

[787] [171] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 192 a] Chuckchansi

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

[764]

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. 323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe ŏokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being 171 similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they [184 426] should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people
787 can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a litt[illegible]e basket; they sang, "I am going to drink [illegible] t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk a[illegible]ell down. But while they slept, they saw [illegible] their hearts [souls] things which no one el[illegible]ld see.

At Ahw[illegible] in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take [illegible]weed. He came from Wawona. He did not wa[illegible]e down while under the

[P. 211 b] Chukchansi

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person,
[887] especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates
[184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

[p.225a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ʼiwaʼu ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu ʼmi naü ñwa tsatsa ʼmo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 228a] Western Mono NS25

Musical Instruments

W Y 534

Flute.---This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W Y 534 237

Whistle.---This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.---For this instrument (ča´o'ːč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W Y 534

Clapper.---This (ṭa´ohːl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W Y 276 [438]

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pːt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kːn). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lːn nːm ti´'ːs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ːm ti'ːs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 228 b Mono NS25 Northern Paiute NR13
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flat disclike cake (ta´kan), a round ball (unawa´ra po´nən co´'og), and little cylinders (pulči´na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si´k:l, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu´kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nab¹) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke´wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso´s:l), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa´luwi šoga´ni n:m naha´hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo´gən (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so´'og (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi´yan šogən or woi´n:čən (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi´w:š and pa´lwi (Michahai) and koiw:š and pa´ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

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The Eastern Mono (Yo´'ots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

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755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

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756 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

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Dream Experiences

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787 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

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But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 245b Western Mono NS25

W Y 789 791

Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

W Y 796 276

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

W Y [756]

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
W Y EP. 246 a Western Mono NS25
796 276 [356] [751]

take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

W Y [343]

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

W Y 796 276

taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752

Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276

At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438]

The jimsonweed plants (taña ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki'leš and Koti'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] B.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuñac, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

EP. 247 C] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 796 276

morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752

Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276

The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756

The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonːk and Puǎlːlːn, who were snake doctors (te'ːˊli čecisuˊm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiyaˊˊːn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chapter 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlxoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *olotlihqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. innoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necaxcal* and *toloatzin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate.

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk.

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened.

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days. When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539] Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 881 276 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna, among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain [787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 756 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medicine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 196 not processed]

CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

[184] Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 Among scientists the initiation performance among the
276 southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache,* or *Jimson Weed Ceremony*. The plant used was the Datura Meteloide. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani,* and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish*. The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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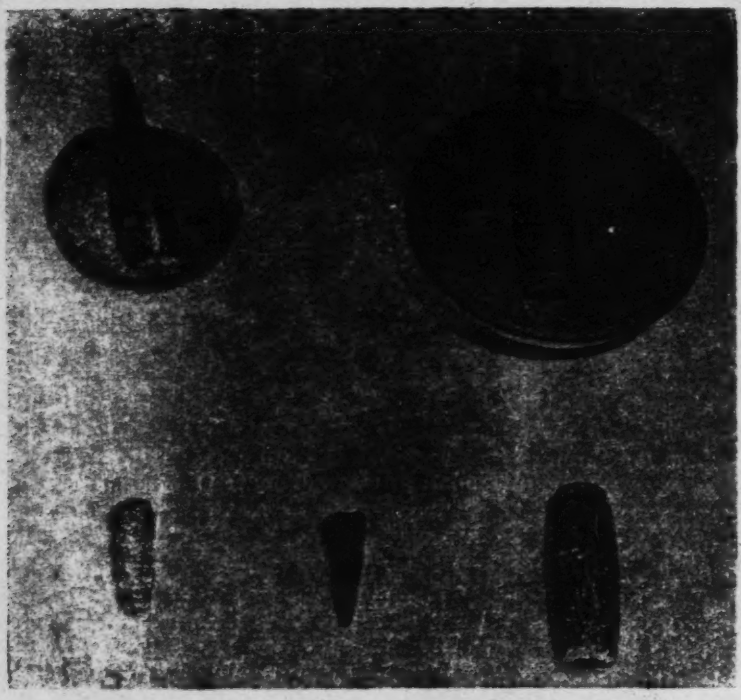

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Comalino Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief.

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety.

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use.

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho'wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

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10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[80]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[80] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he retained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wichumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

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notci	notci	hatim	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwachok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feath[illegible] in hand

minimon	kiolin
coming (I)	meeting (you) i

tahan	maiya	we	yu
going	we	[illegible]	rain

"I'm going to take you up north to the r[illegible]
Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. [illegible]
"You want to go somewhere?"
"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctors [illegible] foothills.
"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa [illegible] on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. The [illegible] off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference. The passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tachi moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

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women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most."

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

769 [539]

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgawa. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners.

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance,

[p.10-A]

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[604] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 778 [276] The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xɔ·xɔ·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going [171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for [784] an early spring." The taboo on summer story-*telling* was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people [574] stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-[583] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's